

New York Tribune
First to Last—the Truth: News-Editorials—Advertisements
Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations
FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1921
Owned by New York Tribune Inc.
Published daily, except on Sundays, at 100 Nassau Street, New York.
Address: Tribune Building, 134 Nassau Street, New York.
Telephone: Beekman 9800.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—By mail, including postage in the United States.
By Mail, Foreign, One Year, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00.
Daily, One Year, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00.
By Mail, Foreign, One Year, \$15.00; Six Months, \$9.00; Three Months, \$5.00.
Daily, One Year, \$15.00; Six Months, \$9.00; Three Months, \$5.00.
FOREIGN RATES
Daily and Sunday, \$15.00; Six Months, \$9.00; Three Months, \$5.00.
Daily only, \$12.00; Six Months, \$7.00; Three Months, \$4.00.
Sunday only, \$10.00; Six Months, \$6.00; Three Months, \$3.50.

Entered as Second-Class Matter, April 1, 1902, at New York, New York, under Post Office No. 100, Post Office of New York, New York.
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The Building Embargo
Governor Miller in his response to the committee which urged a signing of the Cotto bill courageously expressed truths which are unwelcome and which many seek to ignore, but which are truths none the less.
The bill would establish a bureau of land loans in the Banking Department to advance large sums for building purposes at low rates of interest. The plan is for the issue of certificates or debentures by the state bureau and for the state banks to carry these certificates as part of their required assets. In effect the banks would be compelled to lend money, worth at current rates 7 or 8 per cent, for 4 or 5 per cent.

Here is a scheme which either means forced loans levied on the owners of particular forms of capital, or is a piece of legislative quackery that wouldn't work. Probably the latter would be the practical effect. How long would funds remain in banks to be seized?
Every one wants more houses built, not only to supply housing needs, but to give work to those who would work. But house-building is not promoted by continually trying to place the burden of unprofitable investment on some one else. If the members of the committee which visited the Governor are not willing to build houses, how can they justify coercing others to do that which they themselves will not do?

Among the factors making for the housing shortage is legislation which tends to make few want to build. Labor, material and capital costs are deterrents, but we have added to them the deterrent of making the investment risky. In time natural laws will remove one set of deterrents, but the Legislature must remove the other. What may be called the legal embargo against house building needs loosening rather than tightening. Private capital must be encouraged to come into the business, not told to keep out. In a word, tenements must net as much to their owners as the same capital placed elsewhere would earn.

The Governor sees this as clearly as his sensible persons. His merit is his willingness to come out and say so.

The Viviani Interrogatory
The purposes of the Viviani mission are, of course, mildly expressed in official statements, but it is not difficult to guess at the question the French envoy will have in his head if not in his words as he confers with President Harding and Secretary Hughes.

What France asks is information as to what this country would probably do if France should find herself in the plight of 1914. Would we go to her aid were she again attacked from over the Rhine? This is the supreme issue to France. All else is incidental.

Russia was once her ally and partner to an agreement for mutual defence. But Russia at present is under German influence, and no one knows where her influence will be in the future, so realistic French statesmanship turns to other possible bulwarks of protection.

Would this country do again what it did in 1917? If the answer is in the affirmative, then France, an essentially pacific nation, may be counted on to lessen her army, to put away her apprehensions and to devote herself to internal reconstruction. But if France must depend on herself, then she must be prepared.

It is not easy to see how the reasonableness of the French policy can be denied or how many can be blind to the fact that on the answer to her query depends the immediate future of general disarmament and the early realization of peace aspirations.

That it is not necessary to have a formal treaty M. Viviani doubtless fully understands. The entente with Great Britain that proved a cable strong enough to hold was in

itself but a gossamer filament. But there was a faint expression, and British and French public opinion understood what it meant.

Similarly, there would be full understanding by the American people should President Harding deem it wise to say that the United States has no reason to feel ashamed of its conduct in 1917 and that which it did once it would be inclined, in like circumstances, to do again. If this doctrine were promulgated it is likely it would prove as durable and beneficent as the Monroe Doctrine—a more Presidential expression that the United States would not view with a friendly eye further attempts by Europe to colonize the Western Hemisphere.

Entering Wedge of Censorship
Every one will sympathize with Governor Miller's statement that something must be done in relation to the moving picture situation. The moving picture interests themselves not only agree that there must be a housecleaning, but have already entered upon a voluntary censorship.

The doubts that arise relate to the assumption that a "drastic censorship" is the only answer to the problem. The plan discussed would seemingly turn over the censorship of the "movies" to an administrative board, which would have an absolute and, to all practical purposes, final say as to what pictures are moral and what are not.

Now, no experience of any community with a censorship leaves any enthusiasm for this mode of curbing immoral art. Governor Miller cites the law prohibiting obscenity as an existing censorship that is generally approved. This seems to us an unfortunate comparison. In the first place the law against lewdness and indecency already applies to the "movies." In the second place this law, undoubtedly necessary to cover extreme and manifest cases, has been brought into contempt and disapproval in so far as the Society for the Prevention of Vice has attempted to set itself up as a censor. The late Anthony Comstock and now Mr. John S. Sumner are the nearest approach to an administrative censor we have had in New York. Fortunately they were obliged to operate through the courts, which have largely prevented preposterous acts of censorship. But the whole tendency of this effort at censorship has been stupid and injurious.

There is, we think, a sharp distinction between the punishment of obscenity as a crime, by judicial process, and an administrative regulation by all-powerful censors. The latter system is neither American nor common sense. It offends the instincts of us all; and it does not work, for the very clear reason that no one mind or group of minds is capable of deciding subtle questions of morality with any degree of fairness and correctness. The question of whether a given book, or play, or motion picture is moral or immoral in its effect is a question calling for all the highest wisdom a community possesses. You cannot get even a representation of such wisdom to serve on a board of censorship. You get Anthony Comstocks and John S. Sumners, with all the narrowness and super-acuteness of scent for evil which experts in vice inevitably develop.

It should be understood that downright obscenity is to-day prohibited in "movies" as everywhere else. The question is rather of tone, of teaching, of implications and influence. These aspects of the "movies" we would just as soon turn over to a state censorship as we would turn to John S. Sumner or all newspapers to Arthur S. Burleson.

And no sooner. We certainly hope that the motion picture interests will take speedy and efficient steps to meet the Governor's just criticism. Equally we hope that the entering wedge of a dictatorial and un-American censorship will not be here driven in.

The Overburdened Railroads
Senator Cummins rightly says that railroad relief is at present a question of reducing operating costs. The gross revenues of the carriers in 1920 were the highest on record. The volume of freight and passenger traffic was at its peak. But of the \$6,250,000,000 of revenue all but \$10,000,000 or so was eaten up by operating expenses, taxes, etc.

Freight and passenger rates have been increased to a point where some of them have begun to check the natural expansion of traffic. The public doesn't want to pay higher rates. The railroads would rather see rates go down than up. But if operating costs are maintained at their present excessive level, through the decisions of the Federal Labor Board, the government will be put in the position of compelling railroad stockholders to pay out of their depleted pockets excess costs of transportation which Congress is not willing to saddle on the people, either in their capacity as shippers and travelers or in their capacity as taxpayers.

To force a situation of this sort is to create an almost irresistible pressure for government operation and ownership, which would please neither the government nor the public. There is one intermediate remedy, Mr. Cummins points out. That is to reduce operating expenses and thus fulfill

the guaranty of a fair return on capital invested in railroads which was given in the Esch-Cummins law. Probably the railroads can save \$100,000,000 on their coal bill for 1921 and many millions on their lumber and steel bills. But the real hope of economic readjustment lies in a repeal of the burdensome labor rules and conditions imposed on the carriers as a death-bed legacy from the Federal railroad administration.

This code, drawn up by men who were in the habit of creating enormous deficits and covering them by I O U drafts on the Treasury, has no scientific relation to the costs of railroading. It was framed with political rather than economic considerations in view. Congress would have had to modify it, if government operation had continued, in order to escape a crushing burden of subsidies to railroad labor. By turning the roads back to the nominal owners it has simply pushed the subsidy burden on their shoulders.

Railroading is a public service, not a free private industry. Its labor cost must be determined by the public, which also determines its revenue and its profits or losses. The government cannot avoid the duty of bringing these three elements into accord, even if we are to preserve the fiction of private operation and ownership.

The Elwell Case
It is welcome news that Mr. Whitman has taken over the records in the Elwell case and purposes to investigate this extraordinary murder thoroughly.

There is no better illustration of the current demoralization of the processes for the punishment of crime than the popular attitude toward this case. There was no especial sympathy with the victim. It was not a popular demand for punishment that led to criticism of the officials in charge of the investigation. Popular suspicion and rumor were based simply on that general belief that justice has once more become an emolument of politics to be dispensed as and when Tammany—or its side partner, Mr. Hearst—directs.

This suspicion may well have been entirely groundless in the Elwell investigation. It may be that every effort was made to unearth the murderer and that full protection was given. In that case Mr. Whitman's findings will be valuable as removing an unfounded suspicion in this particular crime. If the suspicion has any foundation the public can count upon Mr. Whitman's skill as a prosecutor to obtain justice—as he did with respect to Patrolman Flood, whose prosecution was sidetracked between Police Headquarters and the office of the District Attorney.

Karl the Irresolute
The ex-Emperor Karl was treated with suspicious lenity when he dropped in on the Horthy government at Budapest and asked for the keys to the royal palace. Admiral Horthy also aspires to the crown of St. Stephen. But if he can't get it for himself he would probably be glad to bestow it on Karl rather than on any other of the Hapsburgs. The ex-Emperor was born to be a compliant and colorless monarch. As Franz Josef's successor he was the scapegoat for his own and everybody else's blunder. Tired of exile and deprivation, as he says, he is now a suppliant for restoration. The only thing that recommends him to the monarchist party in Hungary is the fact that it can count on using him without hindrance for its own purposes.

The Hungarian people, of all the defeated Central powers, have their minds bent most firmly on territorial restoration. The Magyar isn't willing to forget his centuries of domination in the Danube basin. He means to restore the dimmed glories of Magyarism. Karl is an Austrian, but has sat on the Hungarian throne. He therefore embodies the idea of reintegration perhaps better than any other aspirant for kingship of the mutilated Hungarian state.

If the Allied veto on his return were lifted, the army and the government would probably turn to him gladly enough. Part of the army is reported to have turned to him in spite of the Allied prohibition and in spite of his cheap prodigal son adventure in Budapest. But though he should succeed, Hungary would gain only the shadow of a king.

Karl's performances during the war were unheroic and futile. Persuaded by personal advisers like Czernin that the dual monarchy would be dissolved unless peace were made in 1917, Karl angled for separate terms with the Allies. He let the Germans think that he was working in concert with Bethmann-Hollweg. But he would have sold out Germany if he had had the courage of his fears. The Prince Sixtus negotiations collapsed when Berlin smelled a rat and began to threaten Vienna. Karl had to make his pilgrimage to Canossa, as Ludendorff says, meaning German general headquarters. There he tied himself up so hard in the offensives against Italy that he had no chance of drawing out and saving the empire when the crash came in 1918.

Karl thus saved neither himself nor his Austrian and Hungarian subjects. He fell ignobly. Accord-

ing to all the canons of dramatic fitness he should remain a king in exile.

Poisoning Youthful Minds
The London Times tells of a proletarian school, founded by Comrade Anderson in Glasgow to teach the young idea how to shoot—in a revolutionary way. It has a children's rebel song which runs:

"Class-conscious we are singing.
Class-conscious all are we.
For Labor now is digging
The grave of the Boorsh-waw-ze."

Two of the proletarian Ten Commandments (Scottish children, of course, must have a catechism) are as follows:

"Thou shalt wage the Class war, by pointing out that the history of all recorded societies is an history of the Class struggle, and that the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery must be brought about by themselves."

"Thou shalt take part at all times in the political and economic struggles of the working class. Thou shalt renounce craft unionism, and work for the organization of the working class into one vast industrial union, to take and hold the means of life."

Not long ago a series of articles in The Tribune described Socialist Sunday schools that have been established in New York, and which, a little more discreetly, distill the poison of social hate, and pretending to advance comradeship, would destroy liberty and the spirit of co-operation. But even children stall at the doctrine. Even they know something of Russia and of what happened when an actual attempt was made to apply the experiment of getting along without workers who labor with their brains rather than their hands.

Mental Death at Twenty-one
Business Man Sees Edison's Advice to Youthful Dreamers

To the Editor of The Tribune:
Sir: I read Mr. Edison's remarks on the young man "dead mentally" at the age of twenty-one and thought his advice to the youth of the land sound. His epigram to my mind was no doleful knell, and I passed it to the young men of my organization as a warning, because I have seen the truth of it confirmed in my fifty-five years of business life.

The young man who has not analyzed himself, his purpose in the world, and who has not realized that inexorable laws, particularly those demanding self-sacrifice and continuous industry, must be obeyed to arrive at success, I firmly believe is confronted with mental death at twenty-one. Moreover, at twenty-five his character is so definitely and irrevocably fixed that it wellnigh becomes a physical expression.

In this I see nothing pessimistic, discouraging or depressing to the youth of the land. I regard it as the most beneficial advice, most suitable in this period of immature frivolity and social carelessness. Mr. Edison spoke truthfully and to the point, and he will wake up the dreamers whose cause you plead in an editorial.

It makes no difference whether Lawrence painted masterpieces at seventeen, or Seneca studied Greek successfully at seventy. Mind-wandering comes from the crowded aspirations of youth, and the castles which tumble down with each prod to the performance of some boyish duty are healthy.

Our educational systems are at fault in failing to bring to the care-free mind the responsibility of making it live and grow. Upon the young man's entrance into business there remain but a few years in which to pull himself together, and "chance," as you say, "selects the occupations of the great majority."

No career should be left to chance and "mental death." Prior to twenty-one the young man should know his aptitudes and decide his course. If not then, when? Mr. Edison has fixed a definite period, a thing wholesome to know; otherwise the procrastinating nature will go on dreaming forever throughout a useless life.

ROBERT GAIR.
New York, March 30, 1921.

Psycho-Analysis and Impulse
To the Editor of The Tribune:
Sir: In your report this morning of Chesterton's lecture under the head "Psycho-Analysis Now Rivals Jazz," etc., he is quoted as saying of psycho-analysis that "the general theory is that it is exceedingly dangerous to suppress any impulse." This is one of those misstatements, or rather reverse statements, effected by the omission or twisting of a few words, like the humorous changing of the commandment, so that it becomes "Do others," etc.

If the lecturer had said "the general theory is that it is exceedingly dangerous to suppress your knowledge of any impulse," he would have been making a fair statement if not a very exact one. If there is one thing that psycho-analysis teaches it is restraint of impulse, through better self-knowledge, particularly impulses that are harmful or annoying to others.

One needn't want Mr. Chesterton to lose his license for saying unexpected things, nor be prepared to go the whole way with psycho-analytic enthusiasts, in feeling a desire to defend this new method of relieving mental suffering from ignorant or mischievous attack.

C. B. D.
New York, March 28, 1921.

A Perfect Description
(From The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin)
No clearer definition of what constitutes a hyphenate has yet been given than that enunciated by General Pershing at the American Legion meeting in New York—"those who attempt to decide an American question for a foreign reason."

The Conner Tower
KINGSLEY REVISED
My fairest child, I have advice to slip you;
No saxophone could zoom a snapper lay;
And, if you will, a naysay hint I'll tip you
For use to-day.

I'll tell you how to sing a jazzier carol
Than those of I. Berlin or Jerry Kern;
Your useless bits of feminine apparel
You ought to burn.

Be wild, sweet child, and let who will be quiet;
Do noisy things, and give the boys the razz;
And so make life, a synecopated riot,
One grand old jazz.

Much of this sacramental wine seized Monday was port, and not the highest grade, either; but, as Prof. Brown has been saying eight or nine times a week for more than a year, any port in a storm.

Eavesdropped at "Mary Stuart"
"Did all this really happen, do you suppose?"
"Hush! Yes, I think so."
"Where do they get that pronunciation—Ritsio?"
"Hush! I think it's Italian."
"Looks like a real drink."
"Sassash."
"Look at the big boy. Who was this Bothwell, anyhow?"
"Hush. I think he wrote—something about Johnson."
"Where do they get that t in Ritsio?"
C. S. W.

Great is our astonishment that he didn't observe that Ritsio was so named on account of the theater.

Katie at "The Bat"
"Twas at
"The Bat"—
The stage was black,
The house was hushed,
And all up my back
The crowdish rushed.
I panted hard with nerves all tense,
And thought the mystic scene immense.

Just as the lights began to glow,
A girl who sat across the aisle
All dressed up in the latest style
Leaned forward to address her beau.
Much quieter than the well-known mouse
Was that excited, wrought-up house
When out the gleam this girl let fly:
"George, I'm not fat as that, am I?"
P. W.

Last night, at Milford, Conn., Miss Alice Ford was wedded to Mr. Harry Miles; and it takes a more highly endowed genius than your slightly gifted chronicler to write the perfect comment in the form of a headline.

The Ruling Passion; or The Uses of Advertisement
[From The New York Times]
Faith Chapel at Jekyll Island, Ga., is to have a favorite glass memorial window in memory of the late Commodore Frederick G. Bourne, philanthropist and for many years head of the Singer Sewing Machine Company. The subject portrayed is "David cast singers before the Lord."

The dullness of brilliancy is not inevitable. For instance, a circular advertising The Cosmopolitan speaks of "Oscar Wilde, a very acute even though a very witty critic."

Safe on First
I've broken into a Briggs cartoon,
And into the space of Heywood Brown;
But oh for the day
When I find my lay
Safe in the column of F. P. A.
VIOLA I. PARADISE.

Gone is the Pyrrhic phalanx, but we have—apparently—the Pyrrhic quinquere. As yet. In East Hartford, where there is advertised for sale "116 ft rowboat."

JOURNALISTIC JINGLES
S. The Society Column
Mr. and Mrs. Whitney Parker Smythe of New Rochelle
Announce the marriage of their daughter,
Evelyn Adele,
To Mr. Howard Titherington of Morris-town, N. J.
By the Rev. Dr. Beagle in the Church
Across the Way.
The bride did canteen service with the Red Cross in the war,
And the groom was a Lieutenant in the Quartermaster Corps.

For the East Side Children's Fund a dance will be held at the Ritz next week
By the League for the Cultural Advance.
The affair will be unique.
To apply the principles of hygiene
That the children learn in school,
The League will keep the kiddies clean
By building a swimming pool.

CHICOT.
Perhaps some of the people who got what may be slightly tarnished divorces won't even try to get their money back.

Madrigal
"My love in her attire doth show her wit."
—Old song. And let me spill this observation:
Even in those ancient days she left no bit,
No fraction to the famed imagination.

Cheating the Grim, as They Call Him, Escaper
[From The Boston Transcript]
FOR SALE—Family lot, three large graves with beautiful monument, best part of Forest Hills Cemetery. Will exchange for personal property; prefer automobile. Going away. Address F.C.N., Transcript, Boston 8.

According to Petrichenko, Lenin is losing control. Nor, another rumor says, has he any longer a hop on his fast one.

Pet Names
I have a little kitten
About four inches high;
I think I'll name her Critzel—
You know the reason why.
SYLVANIA.

Postmaster General Hays has requested that letters be mailed as soon as written; and we should like to accent the wish by voicing our own desire. But our contrbs go even further.

They want 'em printed as soon as written.
F. P. A.

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Neglect of Naval Aviation
The Fleet Has No Air Force Fit for War—Command of the Air Essential

By Quarterdeck
Naval aviation forces to be effective in war must be closely associated with the fleet and must be so organized and equipped that they can operate with the fleet at all times, either in home waters or in distant seas. They are, in fact, a distinct part of the fleet—an invaluable scouting force; an element of offense in the use of bombs, torpedoes and mines against the enemy coast and ships; an important factor in controlling the gunfire of battleships at long range, and a protection for the fleet against the air forces of the enemy.

Essentials
The lay reader can readily comprehend all this. Moreover, it will be admitted that naval aviation forces cannot be effective as such if they are tied up to the beach. They must be footloose—like battleships, in commanding the sea. This condition requires that they shall be provided with movable or cruising bases—airplane carriers, or mother ships, with sufficient speed to accompany and precede the fleet, and fast enough to enable them to escape from enemy cruisers.

The United States fleet has no air force capable of performing any of the functions that properly belong to such a vitally important adjunct in the event of a naval war. There has been complete failure to develop this force. Without it our fleet cannot take the offensive against an enemy supplied with air forces; and an enemy fleet inferior in surface vessels and battleships, but well equipped with scouting, bombing, mining and torpedo planes, with fast carriers to transport these weapons overseas, can readily subject the United States to humiliating conditions.

Command of the Air
Our fleet, losing control of the air above itself, will be helpless against air attack. It will be forced to seek refuge in home ports, and the navy will be dependent upon the army air force to protect our billion-dollar fleet as well as our coast from an enemy that has had the foresight to supply its surface fleet with submarine and air forces! In other words, a one-plane, one-idea navy cannot stand up against a three-plane, three-idea navy.

In the year 1921—and still more in the years to come—the surface fleet, unlike those of Nelson, Farragut and Dewey, must command the air above and the water below if it is to retain the command of the sea. The time has come to recognize new weapons and to supply the auxiliary forces essential to a modern fighting navy. Otherwise the United States may spend another billion and find itself with a helpless fleet.

The personnel of the naval air force is, and always has been, energetic, efficient and brave. The failure to develop a fleet air-force must be charged to the neglect of the Navy Department in past years. There has been no organization worthy of the name despite the repeated efforts of naval officers. Eight years ago Admiral Fiske recommended a bureau of aviation. His suggestion was ignored. Appropriations for aviation were ruthlessly cut by the Secretary in 1914-15. Aviation has had no head and no home at the Navy

Airplane Carriers
The first step, therefore, is to create a bureau of naval aviation. The next step is to put naval aviation into the fleet. To accomplish this airplane carrier of high speed must be built to carry combat, bombing and torpedo planes. Furthermore, it may be necessary for battleships, cruisers and scouts to carry their own spotting (fire-control) planes and fast scouting planes. The conservatism which has forbidden the installation of planes and their catapults on board ship will give way when officers do a little thinking and use their brains. Let them imagine their disadvantage if the enemy has these weapons and they have none! The Navy Department is converting a collier—the Jupiter—into an airplane carrier. But the speed of this ship is only fourteen knots. She cannot cruise with the battle fleet in war. She is a mere coast ship—nothing more.

Reviewing the situation, therefore, we find that the United States naval

aviation force is tied to the beach. It cannot operate with the fleet offensively. It is a zealous, ambitious, hard-working force of officers and men with no organization and no war equipment. It cannot protect the fleet from air attack. It cannot attack the enemy fleet in overseas war.

In this helpless condition our gallant naval aviators must wait until modern airplane carriers are built and until they are furnished with battle equipment. It will require at least four years to supply our aviation needs. During this interval our surface fleet will be deprived of a vitally important scouting and fighting force. Our billion-dollar battle fleet cannot approach a hostile coast or a hostile fleet if the enemy commands the air. What then will it do? This question must be answered.

No Return to Czarism
To the Editor of The Tribune:
Sir: In your issue of this morning C. Mowbray White, D.D., asks our support of the American Russian Society, 5 Columbus Circle, claiming that its members are "loyal Americans." I note that the address given is that of the Russian National Society, which issues a weekly bulletin in denunciation alike of the Bolsheviks and of the Mensheviks, and which classes Kerensky in the same category as Lenin and Trotsky.

It apparently advocates a union of church and state and a return to the old Czaristic regime in all things. If the American Russian Society is affiliated with this body, I fail to see how it can appeal to real Americans who remember the atrocities of Romanoff rule and can have no more sympathy with Czaristic than with Bolshevik tyranny.

While Russia may not be ready for precisely the form of democracy which we have in our own land, no true American can wish to see any development there which is not at least in the direction of democracy in some shape and monarchy and proletarian dictatorship must be to us equally and altogether repellent.

JAMES F. MORTON JR.
New York, March 28, 1921.

China's Self-Realization
To the Editor of The Tribune:
Sir: The generosity of the American people in providing funds for famine relief is serving as a searchlight turned upon every dark corner of China, making every Chinese realize how much more responsible he ought to be for his own people's welfare.

China fully realizes that under the leadership of America it behooves her to discover men of strong, sound mind to grasp great things, distant ends and embrace world brotherhood. We stand, therefore, pledged to be by the side of your country as America's loyal friends, whether in war or peace, prosperity or adversity.

TEHYI HSIEH.
New York, March 30, 1921.

A Serious Loss
(From The Milwaukee Sentinel)
Secretary Denby is all right. But, gosh, how the paragraphs will miss Josephus!